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OUR CONTRIBUTORS AND THEIR CONTRIBUTIONS

Dr. B. K. Chatterjee and Shri Arabinda Basu, both of the Department of Anthropology, Government of India, present in their article appearing in this issue a "Historical account of the Agate Industry at Cambay" and incidentally describe the different varieties of agate, mentioning also the places of occurrence.

Shri M. G. Venkatesaiah, one of our regular contributors, explains "The Behaviour of Cerebral Phonemes in the Kannaḍa Language" particularly in Old and Middle Kannaḍa.

Shri K. S. Ramachandran of the Excavations Department, Archaeological Survey of India, in his article on "Bridle Bits from Indian Megaliths" describes the various types of bridle bits obtained from Megalithic graves in India.

Professor S. K. Ramachandra Rao, Head of the Department of Psychology, All-India Institute of Mental Health, and a former Editor of this journal, advances the thesis in his article on "The Buddha's First Discourse" that this discourse "Comprehends the principal findings of the Blessed One as well as the axiomatic framework of his Gospel."

Dr. Mahdi Husain of the University of Calcutta presents in this issue the Second Chapter of his "A Short History of Khandesh" which deals with the Faruqi Khans.

OURSELVES

Lectures

"Kadamba Permādidēva and his Brother Vijayāditya" was the topic of a lecture delivered by Shri R. N. Gurav, M.A. Under Secretary to Government of Mysore, Home Department.

Professor T. N. Sreekantaiya, M.A. University Grants Commission Professor of Kannaḍa, University of Mysore, delivered an illuminating talk on "Recent Developments in Linguistic Studies" on the 4th of August 1961.

New Members

We welcome the following new members to our Society:

Shri R. R. Diwakar (Life-Member)

(Ordinary Members)

Shrimatis: Shanta Diwakar and M. Jayalakshammanni.

Shriyuts : T. S. Subrahmanya, Nagesh Hatwar and K. V. Gopalakrishna.

OBITUARY

It is with the profoundest grief that we have to record the sad demise of Dr. Morris W. Travers, First President of our Society and also First Director of the Indian Institute of Science, Bangalore.

We deeply regret to record also the sudden demise of Professor P. K. Gode, Curator of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute, Poona, and one of the oldest members of our Society.

We tender our heartfelt condolences to the members of the bereaved families.

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A HISTORICAL ACCOUNT OF THE AGATE INDUSTRY AT CAMBAY AND ITS DISTRIBUTION IN INDIA

DR. B. K. CHATTERJEE AND ARABINDA BASU

Introduction

For centuries past Cambay agates have been known for their most attractive qualities and we even come across the mention of their use as ornaments by the authors of ancient Greece and Rome. During our scientific tour in Western India in January 1955, we had an opportunity to pay a short visit to Cambay in Gujarat State, an old centre of Agate Industry and observe the actual process of its manufacture. Cambay is situated at the head of the gulf of the same name, in western part of Gujarat, between 22° 9′ and 20° 41′ N and 72° 20′ and 73° 5′ E, with an area of 350 square miles. It is bounded on the north by the District of Kaira; on the east by Kaira and Baroda; on the south by the Gulf of Cambay; and on the west by the Sabarmati river separating it from Ahmedabad.

The agate is not a distinct mineral species but is a group of cryptocrystallin form of silica. It is formed in gaseous cavities in eruptive rocks and is deposited in siliceous layers from circulating water. This is a name applied to the semi-pellucid variegated chalcidonies, with the colours disposed in paralleled

stripes or bands, or blended in clouds, and often with curious marking due to infiltration of other minerals. The origin of the English word agate is probably Arabic *akik* a river bed but its derivation from Greek *a'xa'rns* said to be the name of a stream in Sicily once famous for agates cannot altogether be ruled out.

It has not yet been clearly established as to how the agates which occur in igneous rocks have been formed. One of the theories which is now generally accepted is as follows. In the process of solidification of rock a bubble is formed due to accumulation of gas or steam. After solidification, water with alkali silicate gets into the bubble and the solution turns into silica gel. The alkali reacts with the iron bearing rocks forming regular layers of iron hydroxide in the silica gel. The whole mass then hardens up with the loss of water and crystalization of silica as chalcedony. Even in the process of crystalization the coloured bands inside the agate remains intact.

Different varieties of agates

From the variations in appearance, lapidaries distinguish many varieties, as moss agate, ribbon agate, eye agate, fortification agate, zoned or banded agate, variegated agate, brecciated agate, agate-jasper, blood-stone, etc. Dr. Watt divides agate into four kinds: common agate, moss agate, kapadvanj agate, and veined agate. Moss agate or "Mocha-stone" is characterised by the presence of green enclosures, which usually take the form of long hairs and fibres much intertwined, more or less resembling moss. Veined agate is the most valued Cambay agate. It shows a dark ground with white streaks when polished, or dark veins on a light ground. Its colour is readily intensified by artificial means.

India, Germany and Brazil furnish the main supplies of agate, and Scotland has a species called Scotch pebble. The various forms of agates had, of course, been familiar to the Greeks and Romans for centuries. Pliny describes many coloured varieties of agates mostly under compound names such as dendrachates. Schoff points out that the murrhine, which

first became known to Romans after the conquest of Pompey the Great in Asia, (Pliny, XXXVII, 7, 8) was probably the Cambay agate. The greatest authority to equate agate with murrhine was Rev. C.W. King (1867).

Distribution in India

According to Dr. Watt, the potential source of agate in India is from the mines of Rewa Kantha in the Gujarat State, but mines exist also in Bengal in the Rajmahal and Singbhum districts, in Hyderabad, and in Madhya Pradesh at Jubbalpur. Agate, carnelian and onyx are, as La Touche observes, "of common occurrence in the amygdaloidal flows of Deccan and Rajmahal traps, and the chief sources from which the agate workers of Cambay derive their material is in Rajpipla near the village of Ratanpur." Some authors believe that this industry has flourished for over two thousand years. The most valuable veined agate of Cambay comes from Ranpur in Ahmedabad. The Kaira district of Gujarat has yielded much prized variety of agate, landscape agate has also been obtained from this locality. The agate employed by the lapidaries of Jubbalpur is derived from the Narbada Valley, especially from the Marble Rocks. A large vein of moss agate was found at Khijaria in the Morvi State of Kathiawar. Fine agates and carnelians occur north of the Pangong lake in the Rudok district of Kashmir. Mr. Wynne found in the gravels of the Godavari the famous agate flake of Mungi. The inhabitants of Mohenjo-daro, Harappa and Taxila also made extensive use of various varieties of agates, for making beads and according to some authors these stones seem to have been tinted artificially.

Agates from microlithic sites

Report of agates found in different microlithic sites in India have been pointed out by numerous authors. In the Banda district M.P. and in the Vindhyan Range, Dr. Foote (1916) came across some microliths, some of which he has described as "pigmy flake of agate." He also describes a good number of pigmy flakes of agate and other minerals, triangular, arrow-head like or chisel like in shape, found by him in a "low hill, west of Mungati, Adoni

taluq," in the Kurnool district. Dr. Sankalia also mentioned about agates and carnelian in the microliths from Gujarat proper, Mr. A. C. Carlleyle has found near Sohagi Ghat on the northern scraps of the Vindhyas, some flakes, etc. of agate and chert. Agates in the microlith form are also found at Kausambi (present Kosam) a site near to Allahabad. Mr. J. C. Brown includes among neolithic implements from the Bellary district, a number of pigmy flakes of various geometrical shapes, especially crescent shapes, made of agate. Microlithic industry at Brahmagiri and other sites in the Chitaldurg district in Mysore State have yielded microliths made of agate and other materials in association with hand made pottery.

Agate Industry at Cambay

The agates are generally collected by the Bhil from the agate mines of Rajpipla. The agate in its natural state is of a dull cloudy brown or yellow colour. After being taken out of the mines they are divided into two classes, those which should and those which should not be baked. The former are exposed to sun for about two or three months before directly placing them in fire so that moisture inside the agates is evaporated or a greater part of water of crystalisation is abstracted to prevent the agates from cracking. The stone then passes through different processes. The rubbing of the stone starts with a toothless iron plate. The stone is firmly fixed in a strong frame composed of two uprights, joined at the base by a bar, the cement holding the stone being made of cloth-fibres and beewax. One edge of the iron plate is fixed in a light wooden frame and according to the size of the stone is rubbed backwards and forwards by one or two men. A mixture of the fine sand, ground emery and water is kept dropping into the cleft thus formed and these materials help in cutting through the stone. Then the stone is gently chipped by a hammer made of buffalo-horn placing it on a pointed iron rod, one end of which is fixed on earth. After rough flaking the agate is made over to another worker who gives it further finer shape and size. Finally, the object is transferred to an expert who gives it the desired shape and size. When the

object is finally shaped, it is placed inside a fire of dried cowdung-cakes for about half an hour, till the agate attains the desired colour or hue. Special care is taken while the objects remain under fire to avoid their being damaged or totally calcified. Temperature of certain degree is necessary for colouring the agate objects but the exact information could not be ascertained as it depends on the quantity of cowdung-cakes placed in the fire. The agate object is taken out of the fire and primary polishing is given with the help of a circular grinding stone. Copper plates are also used for polishing very hard stones, and wood for the softer variety. A person who is engaged in polishing the agate object is often reported to be suffering from pneumonoconiosis[1] as a result of inhaling particles emanating from the object while polishing. Ultimately the worker suffers from tubercular diseases. No particular care is being taken by the person while polishing the agate objects and it was observed that fine powder grains of the agate objects were being inhaled. A dealer in the industry informed that very few people are employed for polishing and generally they are comparatively highly paid. Before the agate is finely polished, a hole is made through it with the help of a diamond-tipped steel drill. In order to keep the object constantly wet and soft and to avoid from being over heated by friction, it is constantly fed by dropping water connecting it with a thread which is inserted inside an earthen pot full of tamarind water. This type of work is done by a particular class of people who are only trained in this line. The object is tightly fixed between two wooden frames so that it may not be displaced while boring. Great pressure is necessary for boring the agate objects, generally weak persons are not employed for this work. To give them their final brilliancy, beads are polished with a mixture of emery dust and fine carlinian powder placed in a strong leather bag. The working of agates takes a considerable time, but when the stones are fine specimens the results repay the labour expended upon them. Agate beads are found in many forms. Mostly they are simple and globular, though some are faceted. The other important varieties are long, hexagonal, ellipsoids or barrels.

Export of agate products

The agates are brought from Rajpipla on a co-operative basis to Cambay by the Hindu and Muslim traders of Cambay. Agate products, *i.e.* beads, finger-rings, pendants, etc. are exported to Africa, Burma, United Kingdom and other foreign countries. The samples of the desired agate objects are supplied by the importers of Africa and other places to the dealers and according to these samples agate objects are prepared. . If there be any difference in shape, size and colour of the agate objects, then these are rejected by the importers, so special care is taken to prepare them strictly according to specifications. According to A. J. Arkell, (1936) "agate beads found in use in the Sudan, have come from Cambay, and that they have reached Egypt (and so Europe and North Africa) or the East African coast direct both by sea, and overland, *viz.* Persia, ever since the industry was started." Sleen (1958) also supports this view and to him agate beads in north, east and west Africa are believed to have come entirely from Cambay in Gujarat State where the bead factories have been working for five thousand years and are still going strong. The definite mention of the export of agate beads from Cambay is in the Book of Duarte Barbosa. In Barbosa's account Cambay beads are described as one of the important articles of trade brought from India to the Red Sea and the East Coast of Africa by the Muhammadan sea-faring traders.

Use of Agates

Agates are being used for polishing potteries which was observed at Anand during our stay there. First of all an oily coating is given on the surface of the earthen-ware and is allowed to dry up for a short time and afterwards the surface to be polished is rubbed with the help of smooth agates. The pottery on baking becomes glazed and presents a shining surface.

It was also observed at Sankheda Bahadurpur in the Baroda district that first of all pieces of lac are melted and applied on the surface of wooden objects while at the same time these objects are rubbed with the help of agates and thus neatly polished.

Agate and amber continued to be very highly prized ornaments as these were very attractive in colour. These were used during the stone, bronze, copper and early iron age periods. These were also used during Mycenean period in Greece. A predynastic tomb at El Gerzech contained a necklace consisting of beads of agates.

Of the other uses of agates mention may be made of the small mortars and pestles for chemical work, burnishes and umbrella handles. It is also worked up as a decorative stone into vases, dishes, ash trays, etc. and is mounted as a semi-precious stone in a great variety of objects, such as jewel boxes, watch charms and scarf pins. The ancients also regarded agate as a charm against the intoxication of love.

Artificial Agates

At present Germany is flooding the markets and capturing the field of agate industry by producing artificial agate objects which are almost similar to those of genuine agates. The modern practice of colouring agate artificially may, perhaps, mislead classical scholars. It is true that in the Gujarat State, the natural colours of agate have been deepened by roasting at least since the first century A.D. but these are only white, yellow, brown and reddish. Blue agates are produced by a modern chemical process. Recently in Europe artificial agates have entered the field and the position of the real agate industry has been seriously jeopardised. But the only redeeming feature is that people who have once used real agate objects will not have a second look at the artificial ones. Unless vigorous efforts are made to counteract this threat to the old industry at Cambay by applying modern techniques, the future of the industry seems to be very dark.

Even today the primitive people throughout the world prefer agate and amber beads and use them as their ornaments.

NOTE

1. Pneumonoconiosis is a chronic inflammatory condition of the lungs, brought about by inhalation of coal, cotton or stone dust.

ACKNOWLEDGEMENT

We gratefully acknowledge our indebtedness to Professor N. K. Bose, F.N.I., Director, Anthropology Survey of India, who so kindly went through the paper and gave valuable information regarding techniques employed in the manufacture of agate products.

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THE BEHAVIOUR OF THE CEREBRAL PHONEMES IN THE KANNAḌA LANGUAGE

M. G. VENKATESAIAH, M.A.

The following extract from Caldwell's *A Comparative Grammar of the Dravidian or South Indian Family of Languages*, [Second Edition, London, 1875, p. 32] introduces a preliminary note on Origin of the Lingual or "Cerebral" Sounds.

"In all the languages and dialects of India, whether they belong to the Āryan or to the Dravidian families, much use is made of a series of consonants— *ṭ*, *ḍ*, with their aspirates and *ṇ*– which are called by Hindu grammarians "Cerebrals" because they are pronounced far back in the mouth, with a hard, ringing sound. I have reserved to this place some observations on the existence of this peculiar class of sounds in two families of tongues which are so widely different from one another as the Dravidian and Sanskrit.

"It seems natural to suppose that one of these families must have borrowed the sounds in question from the other; but it remains to be determined which was the borrower and which was the original proprietor. Hindi, Bengali, and other vernaculars of Northern India have doubtless inherited the lingual consonants from Sanskrit, from the decomposition of which those languages have mainly arisen; but it is very difficult to suppose that they have been borrowed in this manner from Sanskrit by the Dravidian languages. On the contrary, I have long been persuaded that *they were borrowed from the Dravidian languages by Sanskrit*, after the arrival of Sanskrit speaking race in India.

"The reasons which lead me to adopt this view are these:

"(1) The lingual consonants are essential component elements of a large number of primitive Dravidian roots and are often necessary especially in Tamil, for the discrimation of one root from another; whereas in most cases in Sanskrit, the use of cerebral consonants instead of dentals and especially the use of the cerebral *ṇ* instead of the dental *n* is merely euphonic.

"(2) None of the lingual consonants has ever been discovered in any of the primitive languages which are related to Sanskrit..."

He further states that on the other hand, the Dravidian languages which claim an origin independent of Sanskrit and which appear to have been spoken throughout India before the arrival of the Āryans, possess the sounds in question and were in possession always. There is no trace of these sounds in the Āryan family of tongues West of the Indus.

"(3) These consonants which Tamil has borrowed from Sanskrit within the period of existence of Dravidian Literature, have been greatly modified to accord with the Tamilian laws of sound and delicacy of ear. It is improbable that a series of hard sounds (ringing) like the cerebrals (*ṭ*, *ḍ*, *ṇ*) should have been borrowed by Tamil from Sanskrit without change.

"(4) Telugu has been more exposed to Sanskrit influence than Tamil, yet larger use is made of these sounds in Tamil than in Telugu—a circumstance which seems incompatible with the supposition of these sounds from Sanskrit. Sanskrit has not disdained to borrow words from the Dravidian languages and so it might have borrowed these sounds from the Dravidian." (p. 33).

Dr. Caldwell may be right as regards the first two reasons; the third does not seem quite satisfactory. The fourth one, however, is not a very strong reason, although it may have a negative aspect,

The following are some of the points which stand in the way of the theory enunciated by Dr. Caldwell:

(1) The cerebral sounds in Sanskrit are produced by rounding the tongue and making it touch the roof of the palate, while in Tamil, they are produced by the tip of the tongue touching the front of the palate without its being rounded, at the time of *Tolkāppiyanār*, though they are now pronounced exactly in the same way as in Sanskrit. Why did the position of this articulation change?

(2) The cerebrals are found in the *Ṛgveda*, earliest religious work in Sanskrit, which is supposed to have been composed in the Indus Valley soon after the Āryans migrated there.

(3) It has been enunciated by Fortunatov that *r* + dental... remains unchanged, but in the combination of *l* and a following dental, the *l* disappeared and the dental was lingualised. Uhlenbeck and other philologists except Brugmaun agree with this theory and hence state that the cerebrals are a natural development.

Brugmaun did not accept this because of many exceptions. (the *dentals* came to be changed and cerebralized in the *prākrits*; once the tendency had set in it generalised. This must have taken in the Pāli-stage,—*vide*. Bhandarkar,—*Philological Lectures*).

(4) In this connection it is also worth while noting the views of Otto Jesperson. It is easy to admit that the natives accustomed to one place of articulation of their *t, d, n,* will unconsciously produce the *d, t, n,* of a new language they are learning in the same place; but then they will do it everywhere. Here, however, both the Dravidian and the Sanskrit possess pure dental *d, t, n,* pronounced with the tip of the tongue touching the upper teeth, besides, cacuminal *ḍ, ṭ, ṇ* in which it touches the gum or the front part of hard palate. In Sanskrit we find that the cacuminal articulation occurs only under very definite conditions, chiefly under the influence of *r*. Now a trilled tongues-point *r* in most languages for purely physiological reasons which are easily accounted for, tends to be pronounced further back than ordinary dentals, and it is therefore quite natural that it should spontaneously exercise an influence on neighbouring dentals by drawing them back to its own point of articulation. This may have happened in India quite independently of the occurrence of the same sounds in other vernaculars. (In this connection, it is worthy of note that Tamil *ṭ* and *ṇ* were not originally cacuminal but alveolar); just as we find the same influence very pronouncedly in Swedish and in East Norwegian where *d, t, n* are cacuminal (supra-dental) in such words as *bord, kort, barn,* etc. According to Grandgent (*Naure Sprachen* 2, 447),

d in his own American English is pronounced further back than elsewhere before and after *r* as in *dry*, *hard*; but in none of these cases need we conjure up an extinct native population to account for a perfectly natural development.

From these it is not possible to accept the statement of M. J. Vinson that the cerebrals in the Āryan languages of the north have been developed relatively at an early date (R. Cerebral En Dravidian, p. 111-123, *Journal Asiatique*, Qzieme Senie, Tome XIII, 1919).

Aim of the Enquiry

The aim of this inquiry is to examine the behaviour of the following phonemes in the Kannaḍa language, with special reference to Middle Kannaḍa *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *ḍ*, *ḍh*, *ṇ*, *ḻ* and *ḷ*.

001. Unlike some languages (*e.g.* English) which have practically no cerebrals. Kannaḍa abounds in cerebrals.

Out of 968 roots given in *Sabdamaṇidarpaṇa* (Chap. VI), 633 contain the cerebrals—about 65.4%. This preponderance is also borne out in Middle Kannaḍa.

002. With the exception of *ṟ* other cerebrals do not occur as *initial* phonemes of a word in Middle Kannaḍa; whereas in Rannā's *Gadāyuddhaṁ* even *ṟ* occurs as the initial phoneme—*ṟōdisane* (V, 50).

003. In Middle Kannaḍa *ṭ*, *ṭh*, *ḍh*, *ṇ*, *ṟ*, *ḻ* and *ḷ* are not encouraged as initial phonemes of a word, but there is no hesitation in retaining them as medial and final phonemes.

004. Out of 3,476 words analysed in *Voḍḍārādhane* and 3,681 words of *Kavirājamārga*, there is no word with *ṭ* as initial phoneme; but in the *Sabhāparva* (*Sandhi* 1. 102) we have *ṭaṃkadoḷillale*.

The following which are not in *Kumāravyāsa Bhārata*, contain *ṭ* as initial phoneme :

ṭebbarisu (to dull)

ṭoṇe (to deceive)

ṭakkangaḻe (to villify)

ṭepparisu (to jump)

ṭebmaṇisu (to trespass)

ṭoppihāku (to dupe)

005. No verbal theme in Middle Kannaḍa has *ṭ* for its final phoneme as in Sanskrit *aṭṭ*.

006. The voicing of *ṭ* (into *ḍ*) is noticed in the following instances—the words in the brackets being Sanskrit.

(*aṭavi*) > *aḍavi*
(*kaṭaka*) > *kaḍaga*
(*kūṭi*) > *guḍi*
(*kūṭa*) > *kōḍi*
(*kōṭa*) > *gōḍe*
(*paṭalaka*) > *haḍalage*
(*māṭan*) > *māḍaṁ*

007. Certain changes in clusters of phonemes are observable, as in the following :

ṣṭ > *ṭṭ* — *iṣṭaka* > *iṭṭige* ;
piṣṭa > *piṭṭu (hiṭṭu)*
ṣṭr > *ṭṭ* — *uṣṭra* > *oṭṭe*
ṭ > *ḍ* — *Kaṭaha* > *Kaḍaga*
ṭ > *r* — *Kaṭah* > *Kāraṁ*

008. (*a*) When *s* combines with any phoneme belonging to the *ṭ-varga* or *ṣ*, it is changed into *ṣ* ; *t* is also changed into *ṭ*.

ayas + *ṭaṁkavu* = *ayaṣṭaṁkavu*.

But in some instances *s* remains unchanged as in

ṣaṭ + *satpuruṣam* = *ṣaṭsatpuruṣam*,

(*b*) *ṭ* before a *vowel* exhibits a tendency to change into *ḍ*

ṣaṭ + *aṁga* = *ṣadaṁga*,

*

(*c*) *ṭ* before *g*, *j*, *d*, *dh*, *bh*, *r* and *v* changes often into *ḍ*; e.g.

ṣaḍguṇa
ṣaḍja
ṣaḍdarsana
ṣaḍdhā
ṣaḍbhāga
ṣaḍrasa
ṣaḍvarga

009. *ṭ* before the consonants *m* and *n* exhibits a tendency to change into *ṇ*, e.g. *Saṇṇavatiyu*, *Ṣaṇmātra*.

010. When *ḍ* is followed by an *aghōṣakṣara* (hard consonant), it is changed into *ṭ*, e.g. *Ṣaṭcakra*.

011. In instances where euphonic combination is productive of unharmonious and harsh unpalatable sounds, no combination takes place and *ṭ* remains unchanged.

Vidvaṭ + *strīyam* = *Vidvaṭstrīyam.*

012. In some cases *ṭ* is *doubled* as in *naṭṭaḍavi*.

013. Modern forms of some words found in Middle Kannaḍa drop the suffix *ṭu*, less e.g.

aṁtaṭu > *aṁtu*
iṁtaṭu > *iṁtu*

A similar case is observed in the dropping of *ṭ* in

(*A.S.*) *anfilṭe* > (*M.E.*) *anvelt* > (*Mod.*) *anvil*

(*A.S.*) *Betst* (Mod.) *Best.*

014. The relative frequency of *ṭ* phoneme is greater than that of *ḍ*.

In the *Voḍḍārādhane* extract, containing 929 phonemes *ṭ* = 27 and *ḍ* = 24.

015. No word with *ṭh* as initial phoneme occurs in *Voḍḍārādhane* and *Kavirājamārga*.

016. The relative frequency of *ṭh* phoneme in inscriptions upto 980 A.D. is zero; and in the extract of *Voḍḍārādhane* containing 929 phonemes, the relative frequency of *ṭh* is also zero.

017. The following changes are observed in *tadbhavās.*

(*a*) *ṭh* > *ṭ* — *Kaṁṭhaka* > *Kaṁṭike*

— *Saṭha* > *Saṭe*

— *Suṁṭhi* > *Suṁṭ*

(*b*) *ṭh* > *ḍ* — *Kuṭhāra* > *Koḍali*

(*c*) *ṭh* > *ḷ* — *Pīṭhikā* > *Pīḷige*

018. No verbal theme in Middle Kannaḍa have initial *ḍ* phoneme; and no verbal theme in Middle Kannaḍa end with *ḍ*.

019. The following with initial *ḍ* are found in the dictionaries; but they are of rare occurrence in *kāvyas* and inscriptions.

ḍadge, *ḍamāṇa*, *ḍavude*
ḍāvarisu, *ḍāḷa*, *ḍāḷi*
ḍāḷisu, *ḍimba*, *deṁkaṇe*
ḍokkara, *ḍōru*, *ḍavakeyondu*

020. The relative frequency of —*ḍḍ* is much lower than that of —*ṭṭ*, e.g. in the *Pauloma Parva* (*Sandhis* I and II) the relative frequencies are as follows :—

—*ṭṭ* :—*ḍḍ* : : 10 : zero.

021. *ḍ* in Sanskrit has not changed in the corresponding *tadbhavas* in Middle Kannaḍa in the following instances:

Skt	*Kan*
kāṇḍa	*kaṇḍa*
karaṁḍaka	*karaḍige*
cāmunḍa	*camunḍi*
ḍamaruka	*ḍamarige*
tuṇḍi	*toṇḍi*
paḍaḍakke	*paḍaḍakke*
pāsuṇḍi	*pāsuṇḍi*
bhāṇḍa	*baṇḍa*

022. However, the following changes are observed :

ḍ > ḷ	—	*Kūṣmāṇḍa > Kumbaḷa*
		dāḍima > dāḷimba
ṭ > ḍ	—	*aṭavi > aḍavi*
		Kaṭaka > Kaḍaga
ṣṭh > ḍ	—	*Kāṣṭha > Kaḍḍi*
ṭh > ḍ	—	*Kuṭhāra > Koḍali*
ṣṭr > ḍ	—	*daṁṣṭra > dāḍe*
ṭ > ḍ	—	*praṭipad > pāḍiva*
rdh > ḍ	—	*Vardhaki > Badagi*

023. No verbal theme begins with —*ḍh* phoneme; no verbal theme ends with — *ḍh* in Middle Kannaḍa.

024. Karnāṭaka *Bhāshābhūṣaṇa* states that the phoneme *ḍh* occurs only in words denoting imitation of sounds although the following are found in Kannaḍa dictionaries.

ḍhakkā
ḍhakkalikku
dhakkuḷi
ḍhage
ḍhambara
ḍhāku
ḍhāḷa
ḍhālakatana
ḍhālike
ḍhoṁkaṇi
ḍheṁkaṇi
aḍhālaṁ
ḍhālam
vēdheyaṁ
ḍheṁke
ḍhokkaraṁ

025. In *Kavirājamārga* and *Voḍḍārādhane* (extract) no word with initial *ḍh* have been observed. The relative frequency of *ḍh* phoneme when compared with that of *ḍ* is very small.

026. *ḍh* > *ḍ* — is observed in many instances as in the following:

ḍhakkā > *ḍakke*
rūḍhi > *rūḍi*

027. The phoneme *ṇ* does not occur as initial phoneme in words of Middle Kannaḍa.

028. The following verbal themes have *ṇ* as their final phonemes:

uṇ
puṇ
kāṇ
māṇ
pāṇ

029. The following verbal themes contain *ṇ* phoneme:

maṇi
kuṇi
tiṇi
aṇe
soṇe
peṇe
seṇe
noṇe
ṭoṇe

030. The doubling of *ṇ* phoneme occurs in some instances as in *kaṇ* + *u* = *kaṇṇu*.

031. The relative frequency of the phoneme *ṇ* is fairly large when compared with that of *ṭh*, *ḍh*. In the inscriptions (upto 982 A.D.) the relative frequencies are *ṭ* : *ṭh* : *ḍ* : *ḍh* : *ṇ* : : 37 : 0 : 58 : 0 : 40.

The phoneme *ḻ*.

032. *ḻ* does not occur as the initial phoneme in any word in Middle Kannaḍa.

033. The following clearly demonstrate that l̤ and ḷ are different phonemes in Middle Kannaḍa and Old Kannaḍa.

āḷ	= servant ;	*āl̤*	= to sink in water
taḷe	= to get ;	*tal̤e*	= umbrella
bāḷ	= sword ;	*bāl̤*	= life
poḷe	= to shine ;	*pol̤e*	= river
bāḷe	= fish ;	*bāl̤e*	= plantain
kaḷi	= to become fruit ;	*kal̤i*	= to die
uḷi	= an instrument ;	*ul̤i*	= to remain over
eḷe	= earth ;	*el̤e*	= to draw
aḷi	= the bee ;	*al̤i*	= to die ; to spoil.

034. l̤ phoneme is not found in Sanskrit. According to *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* (19. p. 33) l̤ is produced by forcibly stressing the phoneme ḍ.

Kōḍi > *Kōl̤i* ; *Kḍoal* > *Kol̤al.*

As ḷ, l, l̤ and ḍ were considered to be different phonemes with distinct pronunciation in Old Kannaḍa, *ḷ l and ḍ* rhymes were considered to be blemishes in composition.

035. In Ranna's *Gadāyuddhaṁ*—a work of the tenth century, we find that out of 574 stanzas in the first ten *āśvasās*, only four (4) instances of the use of l̤ for rhyme are found ; l̤ is not rhymed with ḷ, l or ḍ [for a detailed analysis of stanzas in Rannā's *Gadāyuddham*, vide. 'Prosody in Ranna's Gadāyuddham;' *Quarterly Journal of The Mythic Society*, Vol. L, pp. 69–80].

036 In *Dharmāmrita*, a poetical work of the twelfth century, out of 2,272 in part I, 15 stanzas have ḷ and l̤ rhyme and only one (IX, 93) has ḷ, l and l̤ rhyme scheme.

[ḷ and l̤ rhyme scheme—I, 49, 171, III, 278, IV, 49, 76, 126, 166, 176, 236, V, 43, VI, 86, 196, VII, 72, 172, IX, 80].

Out of 1,119 stanzas in part II, 3 have ḷ and l̤ ; 2 have l and l̤ and *one* has ḷ, l and l̤ for the rhyme scheme. In part II, there is no stanza which has l̤ for all the four lines as rhyme.

037. In *Kusumāvaḷi*—a work of the thirteenth century, ḷ and l̤ rhyme exists (vide. *Padyasāra*, Mysore Departmental publication, 1913, p. 41, 223 ; p. 42, 232).

038. In *Kabbigara Kāva* (thirteenth century) we observe and l̤ rhyme ; and *l–ḷ–l̤* rhyme in three stanzas (*vide.* the edition, published by Rāmānuja Aiyengar, Mysore, p. 482-37, p. 21-98, p. 45–230 ; p. 64–320. Total number of stanzas = 349).

039. In *Anantanātha Purāṇa* (Mysore Oriental Library Series No 18), the following are observed :

Total number of stanzas	=	1,370
Stanzas with l̤ rhyme	=	17
Stanzas with *ḷ and l̤* rhyme	=	3
Stanzas with *l and l̤* rhyme	=	8
Stanzas with *l, ḷ and l̤* rhyme	=	0
Stanzas with *l̤ and p* rhyme (*vide.* p. 170-71)		
Stanzas with *r and l̤* rhyme (*vide.* p. 220)		

040. From the above analysis we may infer that :

(*i*) l̤ was not rhymed with ḷ or *l* before the eleventh century,

(*ii*) In the twelfth century l̤ and ḷ were not treated as separate phonemes for purposes of rhyme ; hence we find the rhyme scheme in *Dharmāmrita*, parts I and II,

(*iii*) This tendency appears to increase as time advances and in *Kumāravyāsa Bhārata*, we find in the *Āraṇyaparva* I to IX with a total of 562 stanzas, 35 stanzas with l̤, ḷ and *l* rhyme. [*Āraṇyaparva* with full l̤ rhyme *Sandhi* VI, 18.] with l̤ and *l* : [I, 2, 37 ; II, 2, 16, 25, 32 ; III, 1, 50, 53 ; IV, 8, 16, 21, 27, 36 ; V, 2, 21, 39; VI, 4, 15, 27, 39 ; VII, 1 ; VIII, 11, 15, 34, 37, 64, 86, 74, 105 ; IX, 1, 15, 16, 34, 40.]

This throws considerable light on Harihara's statement:

Nōḍu vodoṁdakkara madu
Maḍu voduccāreṇegaridu mūruteranaṁ ॥

Kūde kavitati vicārisa
Bēḍadariṁ ṟaḷa kuḷa kṣalaṁgaḷanidaṟōl ॥
(*Girijākalyāṇa—ĀSV. 1—31*)

041. That Harihara himself has employed ḻ and ḷ as rhyme in a single stanza is given in *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* (Introduction II, 92) published by Madras University. The author of *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* opines that the pronunciation of ḻ must have disappeared even before the sixth century A.D. (p. 56). In the inscriptions between the sixth century A.D. and the ninth century A.D. ḻ continues in its original form. Dr. A. N. Narashimhia, mentions (*A Grammar of the Oldest Kanarese Inscriptions*, p. 61-66) that ḻ remains unchanged during the eighth and ninth centuries A.D. In the tenth century A.D. about 930 A.D.— ḻ > *r* before consonants is noticed— *negaḻte* > *negarte*. Both ḻ and *r* forms are found. Dr. Fleet in Indian Antiquary comes to the following conclusion about the use of ḻ in Kannaḍa:

(1) 600–900 A.D. ḻ is in common use.

(2) 900–1,200 A.D. a transition period of ḻ > *r* ; ḻ > ḷ.

The Middle Kannaḍa forms show abundant instances of ḻ > *r* and ḻ > ḷ.

042. The following are taken from *Śāśanapadyamanjari* (R. Narasimhacharya)

Sl. No.	Material	Relative Frequencies ḻ	Relative Frequencies ḷ
1.	Inscriptions 1-3	3	6
2.	„ 900 A.D. 1-4	3	9
3.	„ „ to 974	8	47
4.	„ 1,163 to 1,175	3	72
	(*S-P-M.* 134, 135, 139, 168, 171, 184, 188)		

Using Yate's Correction, we find that X^2 (chi-squared) $=9{\cdot}247$, between the relative frequencies of ḻ and ḷ in *l* and 4 indicating significant difference.

This significant difference in the relative frequencies might have been caused partially if not wholly by the indiscriminate use of ḷ for ḻ in certain words and by ḻ > *r*.

046. Kēśirāja, in his *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* (18-23) shows that he was aware of ḻ > *r* and ḻ > ḷ; and he himself states that he is not sure if ḻ could be employed in some words (*Sūtra* 25) although he is of the opinion that ḷ may be used. He notices the following words— *ēḷagaṁ*, *daḷimba*, *Kuṁbaḷam*, *gauḷaṁ*, *guḷam*, *jaguḷe*—and states that they have been wrongly spelt with ḷ instead of ḻ (*Sūtra* 20).

047. It may be noticed that in Middle Kannaḍa ḻ is not followed by *j*, *ṭ*, *ṇ*, *t*, *d*, *n*, *m*, *y*, *r* and ḷ in roots or verbal themes.

048. The following words with ḻ observable in Old Kannaḍa appears to have become rare at the period of *Kumāravyāsa Bhārata*.

Kaccaḻi
puccaḻi
aḻil
uḻgi
enuḻ
Kiḻigi
Kuḻi
asakaḻiha
paḻike
tuḻil

049. In this connection the following statement of Dr. A. N. Narasimhia is worthy of notice:

"These *Sūtras* show that ḍ, ḷ and *l* were pronounced though differently, but nearly in the same manner, and that *l* is, in the

Sanskrit words, given by him and by KSS. on pp. 164-166 are from *-d* or *-t* or *r*; though *l* has replaced *t* in Sanskrit words like *pratihastaṁ*, it is to be assumed that *-t* had become *-d* in *Śauraseni prākṛt* and that this *l* replaced *-d* of prākṛt.

"About its pronunciation in Old Kanarese, nothing is definitely stated by the grammarians except that *l* is from *-d*.

"There is no *l* in Telugu and Tulu now. But in *T* and *M* it is still found. But in Madura and suburbs *l* is pronounced as *l* but in Madras and the north, it is pronounced as *-r-*.

"In O.K. the grammarians and the poets considered *l* + consonant and *r* + consonant could be used in alliteration (*prāsa*)[2]. This suggests that the pronunciation of *r* was very near that of *l* and that is probably why *l* + consonant > *r* + consonant." (p. 68).

We see in Middle Kannaḍa, the relationship of *ḻ*, *ḍ* and *r* on the one hand and *ḻ* and *ṇ* on the other. Whatever might have been the original phonetic sound of *ḻ*, it shows a tendency to change easily into *r* and *ṇ*.

ḻ > *r* — *biḻdu* > *birdu*
kaḻcu > *kareu*

(In *Śabdamaṇidarpaṇa* - *Kaḻcu* is not found but *Karcu*; which in Modern Kannaḍa has become *Kaccu*.)

050. The following changes observed in *tadbhavas* illustrate.

ḍ > *ḷ* — *kaḷ kiccu*, *kōḻ kiṭṭu*.
ḍ > *ḷ* → *ḍ* [*ḷ*] > *ḷ*
dāḍima → *daḻiṁba* > *dāḻimba*
kūṣmāṇḍa → *kumbaḻaṁ* > *kumbaḻa*
ghaṭika [*ghaḍige*] > *gaḻige* > *gaḷige*
pētika > [*pēḍige*] > *pēḻige* > *pēḷige*
tāṭam > *tāḍaṁ* > *tāḻam* > *tāḷaṁ*
maṭhika > [*māṭike*, *maḍike*] > *maḻige* > *maḷige*
sphaṭikaṁ > [*paṭikaṁ*, *paḍikaṁ*] > *paḻikaṁ* > *paḷiku*

raghaṭe > [*ragaḍe*] > *ragaḻe* > *ragaḷe*

sphōṭaka > [*pōḍaka*] > *pōḻige* > *pōḷige* > *hōlige*

We may also observe the phenomena

ṇ

ṭh > *ṭ* > *ḍ* > *ḷ* < *r*

ḷ

051. The following words with *ḻ* found in *Kumāravyāsa Bhārata* have changed. their *ḻ* into *ḷ* in Modern Kannaḍa.

aḻivu S. P. I, 47, II, 96.
aḻali S. P. XI, 64.
aḻigate S. P. I, 28, I, 40·
aḻidoḍalive A. P. XXII, 56.
aḻalisu A. P. XXII, 57.
iḻuhidaru S. P. III, 50.
iḻida S. P. II1, 29.
ippattēḻu S. P. I, 21.
uḻiye S. P. II, 95.
uḻida A. P. II, 4.
uḻivanē A. P. XXII, 56.
uguḻidavu S. P. XV, 52.
ūḻigada S. P. XV, 62.
ēḻige S. P. I, 1.
eḻu S. P. V; 22, XV, 24
ēleṁṭu S. P. VII, 17.
kīḻu S. P. V, 46.
kuḻu S. P. XI, 16.
kēḻu A. P. VI, 18 [*kēḷu* - A. P. VI, 25.]
kīḻahudu A. P. III, 24.
gāḻisida S. P. I, 98.
gōḻiḍuta S. P. XI, 84.
ghōḻāghōḻi S. P. II, 113, A. P. VI, 18.
ghōḻiḍālu S. P. II, 127.
ghōḻi S. P. XIII, 1, A. P. VI, 44.
tuḻukidenu A. P. XIII, 45.
daḻa A. P. XX, Sū.
daḻuva S. P- IV, 7.

dēḻige S. P. XIII, 1.
dhāḻi S. P. III, 18, A. P. XII, 10.
nāḻe S. P. VII, 6.
pogaḻu S. P. I, 11.
payḍaḻake S. P. I, 98.
paḻivu S. P. I, 103.
pīḻisalu S. P. VII, 1.
pêḻdu A. P. III, 38.
baḻika S. P. I, 6.
baḻige S. P. VII, 2.
baḻalisade S. P. XI, 40
baḻivididu S, P. I, 9.
baḻiyalā S. P. VII, 2.
bīḻkotta S. P. I, 10, VII, 9.
biḻukoṁdaru S. P. XIV, 1, A. P. I, 1.
bīḻalu S. P. II, 62.
biḻalida S. P. IV, 21.
baḻi A. P. I, 2.
baḻiyalada A. P. IV, 16.
baḻiviḍidu S. P. XI, 26.
baḻisaṁda S. P. XIII, 70.
basavaḻida A. P. XIII, 45.
muḻugalu S. P. I, 11.
muḻugitu S. P. I. 20.
muḻugidanu A. P. III, 50, VIII, 105.
maḻpudu S. P. I, 85, II, 146.
maguḻavu S. P. II, 138.
maḻe S. P. XVI, 51.
maguḻatta S. P. VII, 37.
maguḻecca A. P. VI, 13.
maguḻankidudu A. P. XX, 30.
sīḻu S. P. I, 16. A. P. XII, 10.
sūḻu S. P. I, 97.
seḻe S. P. II, 138. IV, 7.
suḻidudu S. P. III, 45, A. P. IV, 8.
suḻisuḻīdu S. P, VIII, 34.

sūḻayatanu A. P. VIII, 102.
suḻisidenu A. P. XIII, 45.
hēḻu S. P. I, 37. A. P. I, 9.
hoḻala S. P. I, 57.
hogaḻa S. P. III, 58.
haḻuvinali S. P. XI, 11, A. P. I, 37.
haḻiva A. P. II, 32, V, 2.

[S. P. *Sabhā Parva*; A. P. *Araṇya Parva*]

052. In *Voḍḍārādhane* extract, comprisng of about 10, 300 phonemes we find the relative frequencies of *ḻ ḷ* and *ṟ*, as follows:

ḻ 69; *ḷ* 244; *ṟ* 451.

053. The following tabular form shows the relative frequencies of *ḻ ḷ* and *ṟ*.

Sl. No.	Extract taken	Relative Frequencies *ḻ*	*ḷ*	*ṟ*
1	Inscriptions up to 700 A.D. S-P-M. 1–4	3	9	23
2	Inscriptions S-P-M. 900–974 A.D.	18	47	68
3	Dharmāmrita X. AS. p. 3–4	4	26	67
4	Voḍḍārādhane p. 90–91	9	35	104
5	Virāṭa Parva Sandhi 3, p. 39–41	6	19	67

We infer from the above table that the relative frequency of *ḻ* is the smallest and that of *ṟ* the greatest in each case. If we assume Ziff's statement that the inverse of the relative frequency of occurrence is an indication of the magnitude of the complexity of a phoneme, then we may hypothecate that *ḻ*, *ḷ* and *ṟ* indicate the descending order in the magnitude and complexity of these phonemes.

BRIDLE BITS FROM INDIAN MEGALITHS

K. S. Ramachandran

Furnishings inside the grave chamber and the huddled vestiges outside but within the bounding circle offer an interesting study in the ritual practices and the eschatological beliefs of the Magalith builders. Generally it is supposed that weapons and personal belongings of the deceased were put beside the dead inside the grave. Evidence of ritualistic killing of animals also is not wanting. Thus the Scythian tombs of Altai offer invaluable testimony for the killing of horses which, perhaps, were engaged in dragging the hearse of the heroic dead. The remarkably well preserved remains, among other things, of arrowheads and horse bits in the tumulus burial covered by low cairns on the North Ula mountains south of Lake Baikal[1] and harness saddle and bridle bits of iron and bronze found among the killed and huddled chestnut mares in the stone cairn excavated by Griaznov[2] bear ample testimony for this. A parallel, but that of a bovine beast, is evidenced by the presence of a complete skeleton with a cut scar above the alveolar region in one of the megaliths at Nāgārjunakoṇḍa.[3]

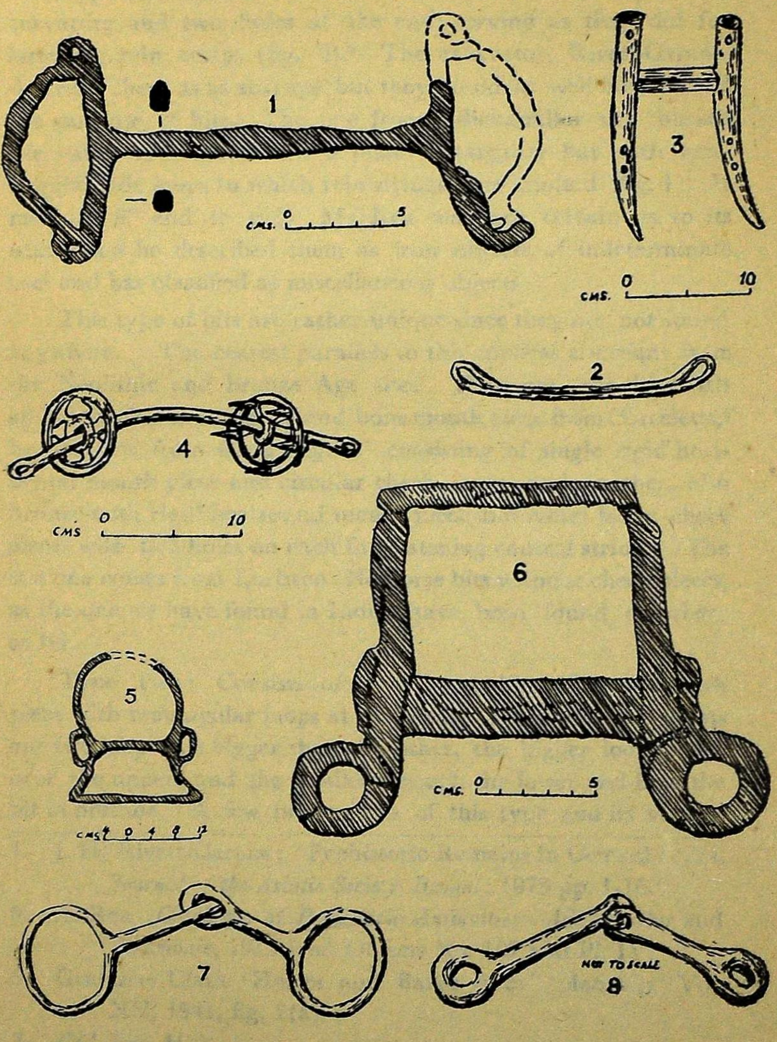
More than a dozen bridle bits in different conditions of preservation have been obtained from megalithic graves in India. They come mainly from Adhichanallur, District Tinnevelly; Kunnattur and Sanur, District Chingleput in Madras State; Janampet, District Warangal; Guntakkal in District Anantapur, Andhra Pradesh and Junapani, District Nagpur, Mahārāṣtra State. These were found both inside the grave chamber and outside in the cairn filling also. They fall broadly into three types.

(1) Simple bit with rigid mouth piece,

(2) horizontal rigid mouth piece with looped nose-bands and its variants, and the

(3) linked bits. These are described below citing parallels.

1. Grahme Clerk : *Archaeology and Society*, p. 98.
2. *Ibid.* p. 99-101.
3. R. Subramanyam : *Indian Archaeology*, 1959-60, *A Review.* p. 6-9.



AFTER FOOTE,
FORRER, REA, RETCHIE, PETRIE AND OTHERS

Type One is an iron bar bent double into one strip with a curvature and two holes at the ends serving as they did for fastening rein straps (fig. 2).[4] The excavator, Rivett-Caranc, describes them as as stirrups but they could as well have served the purpose of bits. The one from Adichanallur urn burials excavated by Alex. Rea is a plain rectangular bar with rectangular side loops to which rein strings were knotted (fig. 1). It measures 9″ end to end. Mr. Rea was not certain as to its utility and he described them as iron objects of indeterminate use[5] and has classified as miscellaneous objects.

This type of bits are rather unique since they are not found anywhere. The nearest parallels to this come as a variant from the Neolithic and Bronze Age sites. They are, the bit with antler cheek pieces (fig. 3) and bone mouth piece from Corceletts,[6] bronze bits from Gaza (fig. 4)[7] consisting of single rigid horizontal mouth piece and circular cheek pieces, and another, also bronze with rigid horizontal mouth piece and metal horse cheek pieces with two holes on each for fastening control string.[8] The last one comes from Luriston. No horse bits without cheek pieces, as the one we have found in India, have been found elsewhere so far.

Type Two: Consists of a solid round bar for the mouth piece with rectangular loops at the ends. From the bar shoots out two loops one bigger than the other, the bigger loop passed over the upper, and the smaller through the lower and kept the bit in position. A few broken bits of this type and its variant

4. J. H. Rivett-Carnac: 'Prehistoric Remains in Central India. *Journal of the Asiatic Society, Bengal*: 1879 pp. 1-16.
5. A. Rea: *Catalogue of Prehistoric Antiquities - Adichanallur* and *Perumbair*, 1915 Iron Objects No. 107 and Pl. IV.
6. Grahmae Clark 'Horses and Battle Axes' '*Antiquity*' Vol. XV, 1941, fig. 2(a).
7. *Ibid.* Fig. 4(b).
8. Kern Institute, Leyden-*Annual Bibliography of Indian Archaeology* for the year 1929: *Prehistoric horse bit of bronze from the neighbourhood of Nihawand* (Iran) p. 20.

were found huddled in the cairn filling of megalith II at Sannur.[9] A simple variant of this type with one loop on the upper side and the lower flaring out and joined by a horizontal piece, the whole lower forming a trapezoidal shape was found from a cromlech at Janampet (fig. 5).[10] Other variants of this type with a single upper loop[11] or rectangle[12] for the nose band with a slight projection out flaring and ending in a round hole or spiral are from Sanur, Kunnattur and Guntakkal (fig. 6). These also have rectangular loops for fastening rein straps.

Type Two and its variants have no parallels elsewhere.

Type Three is the developed one of all the types found in India so far. It is a single linked bit with ringed ends to which the control strings were tied. The bit was found among other things, in one of the stone circles excavated at Junapani (fig. 7)[13] near Nagpur by Rivett-Carnac. An identical bit was found among the iron objects obtained, from the Sialk 'B' graves. (fig. 8)[14] Variants of linked bits (double and treble links) are found in the Bronze Age of the Continent and in Iron Age Britain. The Indian bits are all of iron.

If the interment of horse bits represented, symbolically, the burial of horse along with the bones of the person owning the horse could we postulatate a loss in culture too?

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9. V. D. Krishnaswami and K. V. Soundara Rajan: *Megalithic Excavation at Sanur, Chingleput District.* Paper read at the 1951 Session of the Indian Science Congress.
10. Khawja Muhammad Ahmed: *Preliminary Excavation at Janampet.*
11. N. R. Banerjee, and K. V. Soundara Rajan: *Sanur*, 1950 and 1952 'A megalithic site in District Chingleput' *Ancient India*, No. 15 fig. 11 No. 26.
12. R. B. Foote Government Museum Madras, 'Catalogue of the Prehistoric Antiquities.' 1901 No. 1244, also Pl. XXIX.
13. J. H. Rivett Carnac: *Op. cit.*
14. Grishman: *Iran*, p. 80 and fig. 31.

THE BUDDHA'S FIRST DISCOURSE

PROFESSOR S. K. RAMACHANDRA RAO

The discourse which marked the commencement of the Buddha's career is celebrated not only for its primacy but for its profundity as well. It comprehends the principal findings of the Blessed One as well as the axiomatic framework of his gospel. An ancient authority commends this Sermon as containing the essence of the entire literary output of the Master from the moment of his enlightenment till his passing away: "There is no teaching of the Master outside the scope of this Sermon."[1] Understandably, therefore, the Sermon is repeated, almost in identical form, as many as five times in the Pāli canon: in the *Saṁyutta-Nikāya* of *Sutta-Piṭaka* as an independent tract (*Sutta* 11, 'Saccasaṁyutta'), in the *Vinaya-Piṭaka* as a part of the 'Mahāvagga' section (*khandaka* 1), in the *Dīgha-Nikāya* as an annotated appendage to the 'Mahāsatipaṭṭhāna-sutta' (32), in the *Majjhima-Nikāya* ('Saccakavibhaṅga-sutta') and in the *Aṅguttara-Nikāya* ('Tikanipāta'). There are at least two well-known Sanskrit versions of this Sermon, one in *Mahāvastu* and the other in *Lalitavistara*; and no less than five Tibetan versions have till now been discovered. There is extant a Chinese version of considerable antiquity which agrees in, but only in, the essentials with the Pāli sermon.[2] Apart from this devotion of the scholiasts, the Discourse is held in very high regard by the Buddhist laity: it has acquired the status of 'parittā' in religious functions.

This Discourse introduces the young Śākyan ascetic to the world as the supremely wise Buddha with a courageous message for the sorrowing mankind. The audience for that Discourse, which was the very first of discourses which he delivered, consisted of a group of five earnest ascetics (*pañcavaggiye bhikkhū*)

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1. *Peṭakopadesa*: 'Ariyasaccappakāsana,' Paṭhamabhūmi.
2. Aiyaswami Sastri, N.: "The First Sermon of the Buddha" *New Indian Antiquary*, 1938-39, Vol I, pp. 473-492.

who were exerting their utmost to attain the Immortal, the Way, the Light. The Sermon preserves the name of one of them, Koṇḍañña, who was the wisest of them and the first to comprehend the Master's discovery. We know from other sources the names of the other four: Vappa, Mahānāma, Assaji and Bhadda. They were the Buddha's former acquaintances; they were also his close associates during his spiritual struggles in the Uruvelā jungles. The fact that the Buddha chose them for his first audience and went all the way to Banāras (Vārāṇasi) to tell them about his discovery indicates the high regard in which he held them. It is beyond doubt that they were the main pillars of the Buddha's religion in the early stages; the ancient chronicles narrate the conversion of Sāriputta, the most eminent of the Buddha's disciples, by one of these four, Assaji.

The background story is narrated in the "Ariyapariyesana-sutta" of the *Majjhima-Nikāya*. When Gotama attained the enlightenment (which made him the Buddha) in Gayā in Bihar, he was at first reluctant to reveal his profound findings to the ignorant and indifferent mankind. He had beheld the Light after great toil, and beings beset with love and hate would hardly appreciate it; his findings were subtle and went counter to the ways of the worldlings, who, enveloped in darkness, would decline the revelation.[3] Owing to the intervention of Brahmā-Sahampati, however, he agreed to announce his gospel for the welfare of the world: persons there are whose sight is not entirely blinded by the worldly dirt, and they would perhaps profit by the gospel. Having decided to throw open to them the doors of the Deathless (*amatassa-dvāraṁ*) the Buddha began considering who would be worthy enough to receive his first instructions. The five ascetics with whom he had dwelt years ago in Uruvelā presented themselves to his mind. That is how he wended his way from Gayā to Banāras in search of them.

The five ascetics had been disappointed by the Buddha's return to normal habits after strenuous exercises of privation. If

3. "Ariyapariyesana-sutta."

with utmost effort and austerity one fails to perceive the supra-human truth, how can comfort and pleasure lead us there? Gotama, in their eyes, had abandoned the road and given up the struggle. When therefore the Buddha came to them, they first doubted his superhuman accomplishment (*uttarimanussadhamma*); but, being earnest and open-minded, they soon gained their confidence in him. The Buddha now emerged as a revered teacher (*bhagavā*), as a blessed one (*arahā*), as a perfectly enlightened one (*sammāsambuddha*).

The discourse is brief, with short, simple and precise statements. But the brevity presupposes on the part of the hearer (*sāvaka*) considerable technical competence. There are no definitions, nor any explanations. But we must remember that the Buddha is here addressing a group of eminent minds, who were thoroughly conversant with the then current philosophical and religious terminology, and who were already adepts in the ascesis. The main spokesman in the discourse is the Buddha, except for three prefatory sentences (which are in fact formal and later appendages for the *ipsissima verba* of the Master). The speech is distinguished by its directness: it is in all probability an actual lecture, and it savours not of a stylised write-up. We may reasonably perceive here the very words of the Master as he spoke them, and not a concoction of the monastic editors of a later age. Being the first and the most profound of discourses, the thoughtful audience preserved the very words to posterity; the statements were memorised, repeated, cited, redacted, inquired into and commented upon.

The discourse is known as "Dhammacakkappavattanasutta" in the Pāli collection, and as 'Triparivartadharmacakra-sūtra' in the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions. Both expressions, however, connote the same idea: Setting into motion (*pavattana*) the wheel (*cakka*) of Dhamma: or alternately, founding (*pavattana*) the kingdom (*cakka*) of Dhamma. The Sanskrit word for emperor is '*cakravartin*' (*cakkavatti* in Pāli), and it implies this idea. The Buddha is sometimes referred to as 'Dhammarāja' and his disciple Sāriputta is styled 'Dhammasenāpati' (Commander-in-

Chief of Dhamma). But the notion of the wheel being revolved has gained a greater currency, and has frequently been represented in Buddhist sculpture and painting. The title in this sense seems to have been borrowed from the Buddha's answer to Upaka's inquiry on his way to Banāras, an episode immediately prior to the delivery of the Discourse: "To set into motion the wheel of Dhamma (*dhammacakkam pavattetum*) I proceed to Banāras etc."[4] The word 'Dhamma' in the expression requires explanation and consideration, for the word not only admits of a wide variety of meanings, but it forms the very core of the Discourse. The commentary on *Khuddakapāṭha* refers to the etymological significance of 'bearing up,' 'supporting'; it supports (*dharento*) the individual and prevents his lapse into lower states. Aśoka in one of the rock-edicts employs the word in the sense of a stand taken, a position assumed (*tiṣṭhānato*). *Mahāniddesa* interprets Dhamma as a view-point, an ideology, a doctrine (*diṭṭhi*), as in the formula: "Well-expounded (*svākkhāto*) by the Master (*bhagavatā*) is the Doctrine (*dhammo*)." In the Discourse itself the word occurs in the sense of 'phenomena' (*dhammesu*) into which the Master developed the insight. Indeed the functional import of the word comprehends all these connotations and something more: this 'something more' is the idea of a method, a strategy, a path, a way, a means (*paṭipadā* or *magga*). Thus Dhamma is both a theory and a practical procedure. Dhamma in both these aspects forms the subject-matter of the Discourse.

But the word in this sense does not at all occur in the body of the Buddha's speech: it is clear that the name of the Discourse was a later ascription, the original designation being only 'The First Teaching' (*paṭhama-desanā*). The turning of the wheel of Dhamma is referred to in the thirteenth section of the Discourse: "Thus in the Deer Park in Banaras the incomparable wheel of Dhamma was set into motion by the Blessed One." This statement of course is not ascribed to the Buddha: it occurs long after "Thus spake the Blessed one." It is, however, not easy to

4. '*Ariyapariyesana sutta*'.

determine whether the title of the Discourse was derived from this reference, or the reference was instituted because of the title.

The expression 'thrice revolved' (*tiparivaṭṭam*) qualifying the insightful wisdom (*ñāṇadassanam*) figures prominently in the Discourse, although it is not included in the Buddha's speech; it even forms a part of the title in the Sanskrit and Tibetan versions. The commentaries explain that the Buddha revolved in his mind his four-fold discovery thrice, in its three aspects: the truth (*saccam*), the task (*kiccam*) and the accomplishment (*katam*). To explain. The Buddha's enlightenment consisted of the discovery of four phenomenal principles, which have been described as 'noble' (*ariya*): sorrow, origination of sorrow, elimination of sorrow, and the method of elimination. Each of these obtains in the three aspects mentioned above. The truth of sorrow, the task of understanding sorrow, and the accomplishment of this understanding; the truth of the origination of sorrow, the task of cutting-off the origination, and the accomplishment of this cutting-off, the truth of the elimination of sorrow, the task of realising it, and the accomplishment of this realisation; the truth of the method of elimination of sorrow, the task of cultivating the method, and the accomplishment of this cultivation.

These four phenomenal principles discovered by the Buddha constitute the special subjects of his teaching (*sāmukkaṁsika-dhamma*); their clear formulation is the main purpose of the discourse. They are designated as the 'noble truths' (*ariya-saccāni*); and the commentaries explain that the nobility of these truths is derived from their being discovered by the Noble One, the Buddha, and from their being recognised by all the noble ones (*ariyas*) in the world. The four are arranged in an order: "A skilful physician," says the author of *Vimuttimaggo*, "first sees the symptoms of a disease, then hears the cause of it, and then seeing the necessity of the cure, prescribes a suitable medicine: even so these principles."[5] The first three are theoretical in

5. P. V. Bapat: *Vimuttimagga and Visuddhimagga*, Poona, 1937, p. 110.

import, while the fourth one is essentially practical. And the Discourse naturally expatiates on this truth, which is the method (*ñāya*), the road (*magga*), the path (*paṭipadā*) for eliminating sorrow and obtaining emancipation. The idea of Path is old: even Yājñavalkya mentions it (*panthā*). But the Buddha affirmed that it is in successive steps (*paṭi-padā*, 'step by step'): it is a course contributing to progress (*vaḍḍhānaka-paṭipadā*).[6]

The Path is closely related to the pilgrim and his progress; the Buddha is a Path-finder and a guide on the Path. The constituents of this Āryan Path as enumerated by the Buddha are eight in number (*aṭṭhaṅgika*): Right views, aspirations, speech, action, vocation, effort, attention and concentration. This enumeration, which occurs twice in the short Discourse, is of immense importance: it is in fact the Buddha's own system for facilitating the pilgrim's progress towards Insight, Tranquility and Enlightenment. The Buddha chooses to describe this Path of Eight Aspects as the 'middle way' (*majjhimā-paṭipadā*): eschewing the extremes the Master indicated the golden mean. The extremes are the absorption in the worldly delights and the employment of severe privations as means to achieve spiritual ends. The former is vulgar and the latter wearisome, while both, according to the Buddha, are ignoble (*anariya*) and futile (*anatthasaṁhita*, lit. 'not leading to the Goal'). The Master himself had followed both these extremes, the former as a prince in Kapilavatthu and the latter as an ascetic in Uruvelā, and had experienced in his own life their futility. He obtained the Enlightenment only when he steered clear of these 'ends'.

The Discourse, far from being a string of high-sounding injunctions and expostulations, is a simple narration of how the remarkable Śākyan attained to the incomparable and complete Enlightenment (*anuttaram sammāsambodhim*). The Buddha here speaks about his own discoveries of the four truths, the three aspects of each truth (thus making a twelve-fold structure, *dvādasākāram*), and the Middle Path with eight aspects. The

6. Comm. on *Majjhima-Nikāya*, PTS, Ed. 53, iii, p. 32.

Discourse mentions nothing about the Buddhist triad: *Buddha, Dhamma* and *Saṁgha*. Nor does it mention the three phenomenal signs: impermanence, insubstantiality and unsatisfactoriness. There is no explicit reference to the doctrine of Dependent Origination or to the *Sīlas*. In short, the tenets of Buddhism as they became well-known subsequent to the Buddha's days are all absent from the Discourse; and this argues for the pristine purity of the Master's first lecture.

(To be continued)

A SHORT HISTORY OF KHANDESH*

1382 - 1601

DR. MAHDI HUSAIN

Chapter II

FARUQI KHANS

Out of the thirteen rulers of the Faruqi dynasty of Khandesh six were Khans and six were Shahs, Rāja Ahmad or Malik Rāja, the first ruler and founder of the dynasty, being neither a Khan nor a Shah. The six Khans—Nasīr Khan, Adil Khan I, Mubarak Khan I, Adil Khan II, Daud Khan and Adil Khan III—ruled for one hundred and twenty-one years in all. It was under them, that Khandesh was built and acquired the dignity of a State ; it was saved from its aggressive and conquering neighbours. Barring a few weaklings the Khans of Khandesh were great patriots, high diplomats and hardy warriors ; some were shrewd statesmen to boot. The fact that they were able to hold their own during a century of dynastic wars and rivalries and make their rule popular and strong amidst hostile elements and threats from within and without bespeaks their talents. The consolidation of Khandesh—a principality which had no natural frontiers and which was small and tender—was their greatest achievement. They enabled it to strike its roots tenaciously into the soil and enabled their successors to rise higher than the grade of Khans and rank as Shahs or Kings.

Rāja Ahmad left behind two sons—Malik Nasīr entitled Jahangir Khan and Malik Hasan entitled Iftikhar[25] Khan. He sent for both while he lay in death-bed and declared the elder

*Continued from Vol. LI, page 128

25. Malik Nasir and Malik Hasan according to Firishta (*T.F.B.* Vol. II, p. 543) but Nasir Khan and Hasan Khan according to Abdulla Muhammad (*H.D.* Vol. I, p. 52,) Malik and Khan are synonymous terms.

son—Malik Nasīr—his successor by giving him the above-mentioned[26] robe and the greater part of the State. On his younger son, Malik Hasan he bestowed the fort and town of Thalner.

After the death of his father, Nasir hastened to extend his power and make new conquests. He seized the fortress of Asir commonly known as Asirgarh from Rāja Asa, the Ahir Chief, whom he held responsible for the disorders that now threatened to break out in his patrimony of Khandesh comprising Baglana, Antur and Kehrla. He had also some misgivings about Rāja Asa who was loth to show him the same respect which he had always shown for Rāja Ahmad. Nasir moved craftily in the matter. He addressed a letter to Rāja Asa and feigning an attitude of afflicted innocence stated that he was in great trouble at the hands of the rebel chiefs of Baglana, Antur and Kehrla who had been threatening to capture his only fort of Laling. He requested Rāja Asa to protect his family whom he proposed to send away from Laling into the fort of Asirgarh. Rāja Asa acceded to this request and Nasīr sent two hundred covered litters into Asirgarh. From these litters came out women who were well received by Rāja Asa's wife, but the succeeding litters that came in contained a large number of armed men who seized the fort putting Rāja Asa and his son to the sword.[27] After the capture[28] of Asirgarh Nasīr founded the city of Burhanpur on the Tapti in honour of saint Burhan-ud-din Gharib who has been mentioned above.[29]

26. Vide: *Q.J.M.S.* Vol. LI. Page 128.
27. *T.F.B.* Vol. II, p. 545.
28. The evidence of Faizi Sirhindi regarding this capture of Asirgarh is useful though it does not bear out the horrible story related by Firishta. It runs as follows; 'He (Rāja Ahmad) was succeeded in this estate by his grandson who cast covetous eyes on the fortress of Asirgarh and wanted to acquire it in order to make it a safe home for his family and dependents. He contrived by various stratagems to obtain this place from the zamindar who held it and fortified it strongly. He then assumed the name of ruler' (Vide. *E.D.* Vol. VI, p. 138.)
29. *Q.J.M.S.* Vol. LI. *Op. Cit.*

He also built, a city along the southern bank of the Tapti and named it Zainabad in honour of the saint Shaikh Zain-ud-din. He then proceeded against his younger brother Hasan from whom he captured the town of Thalner with the help of his brother-in-law Hoshang Shah of Malwa and the latter's son Ghazni Khan. Hasan was arrested and thrown a prisoner into the fort of Asirgarh.

Before approaching Malwa for help in the above cause Nasīr had first appealed to Ahamd Shah I of Gujarat but had been baulked. To avenge this and also to repair his father's discomfiture at Nandurbar, Nasīr strengthened by his co-operation with Ghazni Khan, swooped down upon Nandurbar. But he was defeated and compelled to flee to Thalner; Ghazni Khan fled to Mandu. Ahmad Shah of Gujarat pursued Nasīr into Thalner which he besieged. Nasīr submitted unconditionally. The conqueror treated him kindly. He not only pardoned his aggression but granted him the title of Khan and recognized him as an independent ruler of Khandesh. The King of Gujarat also acccorded this Khan of Khandesh formal permission for the use of royal insignia, thus ensuring the subordination and allegiance of all Khandesh to Gujarat. With this object in view the king of Gujarat also secured the person of Hasan, the younger brother of Nasīr, as a hostage. Hasan lived henceforth in Gujarat where he found a welcome home and became so closely related to the royal house of Gujarat that one of his descendants legitimately claimed the crown and throne of Gujarat[30] and the progeny of Nasīr having become extinct after the third generation the rule of Khandesh devolved finally on his descendants.

Now the relations between the ruling houses of Khandesh and Malwa became strained for Prince Ghazni Khan of Malwa had not whole-heartedly supported Nasīr in his Gujarat campaign. He was charged with having deserted Nasīr at a critical moment at Nandurbar, thus bringing about the latter's unconditional surrender. Anxious to find an ally other than Malwa against

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30. Alam Khan, Adil Khan III; see pp. 185–186.

his new overlord of Gujarat whom he still regarded as a potential adversary, Nasīr endeavoured to make a friendly alliance with Ahmad Shah Bahmani of Gulbarga. The latter also had been alienated from Malwa and was on the look-out for an ally. He proposed a matrimonial alliance between his son Ala-ud-din Hasan and Agha Zainab, daughter of Nasīr. The marriage was celebrated in 1417 A.D./820 *Hij.* But an incident occurred before long that put this alliance to the test. Rāja Kanha, a vassal of the king of Gujarat incurred the latter's displeasure and sought refuge with Nasīr Khan of Khandesh. Nasīr Khan secured for this refugee the support of Ahmad Shah Bahmani. The joint forces of Khandesh and Gulbarga attacked Nandurbar but were defeated. The Bahmani troops deserted their ally of Khandesh before the trouble ended. The incensed Gujarat army swooped down upon Khandesh and Nasīr Khan was forced to flee to Burhanpur.

Such was the result of Nasīr Khan's attempt to help the 'guilty' Rāja Kanha of Jhallawar[31] in 1429 A.D./833 *Hij.* It was followed seven years later (1436 A.D./840 *Hij.*) by Nasīr Khan's invasion of the Bahmani kingdom in response to the complaints of his daughter Agha Zainab. She had been neglected and maltreated by her husband, the Ala-ud-din Ahmad, who having ascended the throne of Gulbarga in 1435 A.D./839 *Hij.* had fallen out with the Hindu ruler of Sangamēśwar in the Konkan (1437 A.D./841 *Hij.*). Ala-ud-din Ahmad conquered Sangamēśwar and married its beautiful princess whom he named Zeb Chihra.[32] Agha Zainab who was the principal queen and was called Malika-i-jahan, was slighted and neglected. Nasīr Khan who had by now been reconciled to Ahmad Shah of Gujarat laid bare his case before him and with his advice and consent marched on Gulbarga. But he was defeated and repulsed by the Bahmani troops who pursued him up to Burhanpur in the vicinity of which they inflicted on him a crushing defeat. Nasīr Khan was now so depressed that he died in 1437 A.D./841

31. *H.D. — A.H.G.* Vol. I, p. 55.
32. *T.F.* Bombay, Vol. I.

Hij. while the Deccani assailants were yet besieging his fort of Laling.

It was through the mediation of Gujarat, secured at the instance of his son and successor Miran Adil, better known as Adil Khan I, that the besiegers raised the siege and withdrew. The Bahmani commander, Khalaf Hassan Basri Malikut-tujjar, carried from Khandesh huge plunder including many guns and seventy elephants. Adil Khan I was assassinated mysteriously at Burhanpur in 1441 A.D./844 *Hij.* and was succeeded by his son Miran Mubarak who assumed the title of Mubarak Khan I.

Mubarak Khan I died after a peaceful reign of seventeen years (1441–57 A.D./845–862 *Hij.*). He was succeeded by his son Miran Ghani, also called Malik Aina, who became known as Adil Khan II.

Adil Khan II enjoyed a long and prosperous reign of forty-six years (1457 A.D./845 *Hij.* to 1503 A.D./901 *Hij.*) during which he succeeded in raising the financial and military strength of Khandesh and expanding its area. He compelled the neighbouring rājas of Gondawana and Gurramundla to acknowledge his overlordship and pay tribute. He crushed the disorderly elements in his dominion, particularly the Kolis and Bhils, and by putting an end to their robberies on the high roads he promoted traffic and transport. He strengthened and extended the fortifications of Asirgarh and built an outwork called Naligarh. He also built a citadel—a kind of protective bulwark of Burhanpur on the Tapti and constructed therein magnificent palaces. He assumed the title of 'Shah-i-Jharkand and became commonly known as Jharkandi Sultān and renounced the suzerainty of Gujarat withholding the annual tribute which had been promised in the past but never regularly paid. This inflamed the anger of Mahmud Shah Bigarrah, the mighty king of Gujarat who invaded Burhanpur in 1499 A.D./905 *Hij.* Adil Khan II was defeated and compelled to pay the arrears of tribute. Peace was then made and friendly relations restored between the two; Adil Khan II visited Ahmadabad, the capital of Gujarat. There he met his young cousin Alam Khan, a descendant of the aforesaid

Hasan and adopted him as heir-apparent to the throne of Khandesh. Two years after his return from Ahmadabad to Burhanpur Adil Khan II died a peaceful death in 1501 A.D./907 *Hij*.

Adil Khan's choice of an heir-apparent in Prince Alam of Gujarat was set aside by the Amir of Khandesh who raised Daud Khan, a brother of the deceased king, to the throne. Daud Khan's reign was short but eventful. He cast covetous eyes on the decadent kingdom of Ahmadnagar and made secret preparations for an invasion. His preparations leaked out, and Ahmad Nizam Shah, king of Ahmadnagar, forestalled him by marching upon Khandesh at the head of an army according to Firishta.[33] According to another account[34] Hisam-ud-din, a hostile Amir of

33. *H.D. — A.H.G.* Vol. I, p. 55.

34. This was not achieved without a conflict which must be followed to some extent. It should be noted that after the accession of Daud Khan to the throne of Burhanpur power has passed into the hands of two brother Amirs, Hussain Ali and Yar Ali, Mughals. Daud Khan relied upon the elder brother Husain Ali and made him his principal vazir with the title of Hisam-ud-din.

It is this Hisam-ud-din who according to Firishta, later poisoned Ghazni Khan; through his machinations after the death of Daud Khan developed a crisis in Khandesh. While Mahmud Shah Bigharra of Gujarat came with an army into Khandesh resolved to raise his nephew Alam Khan to the throne of Burhanpur, Hisam-ud-din wrote secret letters to the kings of Ahmadnagar and Berar inviting them to support there own candidate for the throne of Khandesh, namely, Alam Khan who claimed descent from the Faruqui house, but had been living for a long time at Ahmadnagar. Mahmud Bigharra laid siege to Burhanpur. The war now threatened to break out, for the kings of Ahmadnagar and Berar had sent their own armies into Khandesh. But the crisis was avoided when the Khandesh Amirs realized that their country would be ruined in case they resisted the mighty king of Gujarat. They surrendered to him. Hisam-ud-din also surrendered and sent his own candidate — Alam Khan of Ahmadnagar — back to the Deccan.

Faruqui court invited Ahmad Nizam Shah, king of Ahmadnagar to aid him in overthrowing Daud Khan. Ahmad Nizam Shah complied and invaded Khandesh. Unable to withstand this invasion Daud Khan retired into the fort of Asirgah and solicited help from Nasir-ud-din Shah of Malwa (1504 A.D./910 *Hij.*). On the arrival of the Malwa reinforcements the Nizam Shāhi invaders retired. In recognition of this service Daud Khan was required to acknowledge the overlordship of Malwa by inserting in the *Khutba* the name of its king Sultān Nasīr-ud-din and by making some presents. Daud Khan complied and was able to rule peacefully until his death in 1508 A.D./914 *Hij*.

He was succeeded by his son Ghazni Khan who was poisoned ten days after his accession. Thereupon Alam Khan, a cadet of the Faruqi house then living at Ahmadnagar was brought to Burhanpur and raised to the throne. But he was set aside in favour of Prince Alam Khan of Gujarat[35] who ascended the throne under the title of Adil Khan III. He also bore the title of *A'zam-i-Humayun* conferred on him by his uncle and patron, Mahmud Shah Bigarrah of Gujarat. Thus began a kind of hegemony of Gujarat over Khandesh and the relations between the two courts were further cemented when Adil Khan III married a daughter of Muzaffar Shah II of Gujarat. During his reign of eleven years (1509 A.D./915 *Hij* to 1520 A.D./926 *Hij.*) the court of Gujarat continued to dominate the court of Khandesh and in fact directed its policy and saved it from exploitation and aggression. When fresh efforts were made to exploit the situation in Khandesh by bringing back the rival candidate to the throne,[36] Hisam-ud-din, the leader of the opposition party of Ahmadnagar, who was considered the root of the mischief was assassinated. When an aggression from the direction of Ahmadnagar threatened Khandesh it was averted by the timely despatch of an army from Gujarat. Thus protected by the mighty arms of Gujarat the reign of Adil Khan III ended in peace with his death in August 1520 A.D./*Ramzan* 926 *Hij*.

(*To be continued*)

Tripura Rahasya or the Mystery beyond the Trinity: English Translation By Munagala S. Venkataramaiah – (Swāmi Śri Ramananda Saraswathi.) Sri Ramaṇāśramam, Tiruvaṇṇāmalai. 1960. Price Rs. 4.00. Pages 224.

The *Tripurā Rahasya* is an important treatise on Tāntrik philosophy. The entire work is believed to be made up of three Khanḍas, – *Māhātmya*, *Jnāna* and *Caryā* – of which the last is apparently lost. The first, which narrates in Paurāṇik style the greatness of the Supreme Principle designated as Devi Tripura, was published in the Chowkhamba Sanskrit Series, Banaras. The work now translated is the *Jnānakhanda*, the original of which was first published in the Saraswati Bhavana Series, Allahabad, with a valuable introduction by that eminent scholar Mm. Gopināth Kaviraj, together with a commentary entitled *Tātparya Dīpikā* from the pen of a South Indian scholar, Dravida Srīnivāsa, son of Vaidyanātha Dīkṣita of the early 19th century (1831 A.D.).

The distinction of the book is that it presents the Advaita Philosophy, using tāntrik symbolism and adopting the Śaiva scheme of 36 *Tattvas*. It thus offers a unique reconciliation (*Samanvaya*) of several ancient philosophic traditions. Here, the Supreme Consciousness is described as *Tripurā*, which is identical with *Turīya* – the fourth and ultimate state of the One Reality, which is universally experienced in the three states of waking, dream and deep sleep. Hence the sub-title: "The Mystery Beyond the Trinity."

The text is in 22 Chapters and is in the form of a discourse delivered by Sage Hāritāyana to Nārada, and professes to be a reproduction of the teachings of Dattātreya to Paraśurāma. A Marāṭhi rendering with the title *Datta-Bhārgava Samvāda* was published some years ago and had a wide circulation. A Kannada translation with the original text in Kannada script has appeared in the well-known series of publications sponsored by the Mysore Palace.

The present translation into English has been brought out under the auspices of Śri Ramaṇāśramam and serves a long-felt need. The work is said to have been a favourite with Bhagavān

Śri Ramaṇa Maharṣi, who loved to refer to it while expounding his own teachings. It is of special interest that the book first appeared serially in the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* and has now been reprinted with permission. The book is well got-up and the translation competently made. It has a brief Foreword by Sadhu Arunachala (formerly Major A. W. Chadwick, O.B.E.). It should be studied by all who are interested in this important aspect of Hindu Philosophy.

K. GURU DUTT

Bahadur Shah II : BY DR. MAHDI HUSAIN, M.A., Ph.D. (LOND.), D.LITT. (Sorbonne). Published by Atma Ram & Sons, Delhi-6, and printed by Thacker's Press and Directories Ltd. Calcutta-1. Demy 8 vo, Pages 451, Price Rs. 20.

Professor Majumdar having branded Bahadur Shah II, the last of the Mughals as a traitor, Dr. Mahdi Husain set out to disprove the charge and his efforts in this direction have produced the work under review. In this well-documented book of 400 and odd pages, Dr. Husain has drawn a vivid picture of the 1857 Movement, the events in the Delhi sector and the part played by Bahadur Shah in that uprising.

It is clear from Dr. Mahdi Husain's account that Bahadur Shah came into the Movement after it had actually warmed up. That he joined it despite misgivings about its success is proof in itself of his courage and patriotism and his eventual death in a Rangoon prison invests him with an aura of martyrdom.

The book begins with a preface of shavian proportions and a slightly less gargantuan introduction. These, however, prepare us for a sympathetic appreciation of the character of Bahadur Shah which forms the theme of the first chapter. The book is obviously designed to excite our admiration for the last of the Mughals. That it succeeds only in exciting our pity is no disparagement of Dr. Husain's effort.

"Bahadur Shah II" is a valuable addition to works bearing on the 1857 episode and Dr. Mahdi Husain, its author, deserves our thanks and congratulations.

G. NANJUNDIAH

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